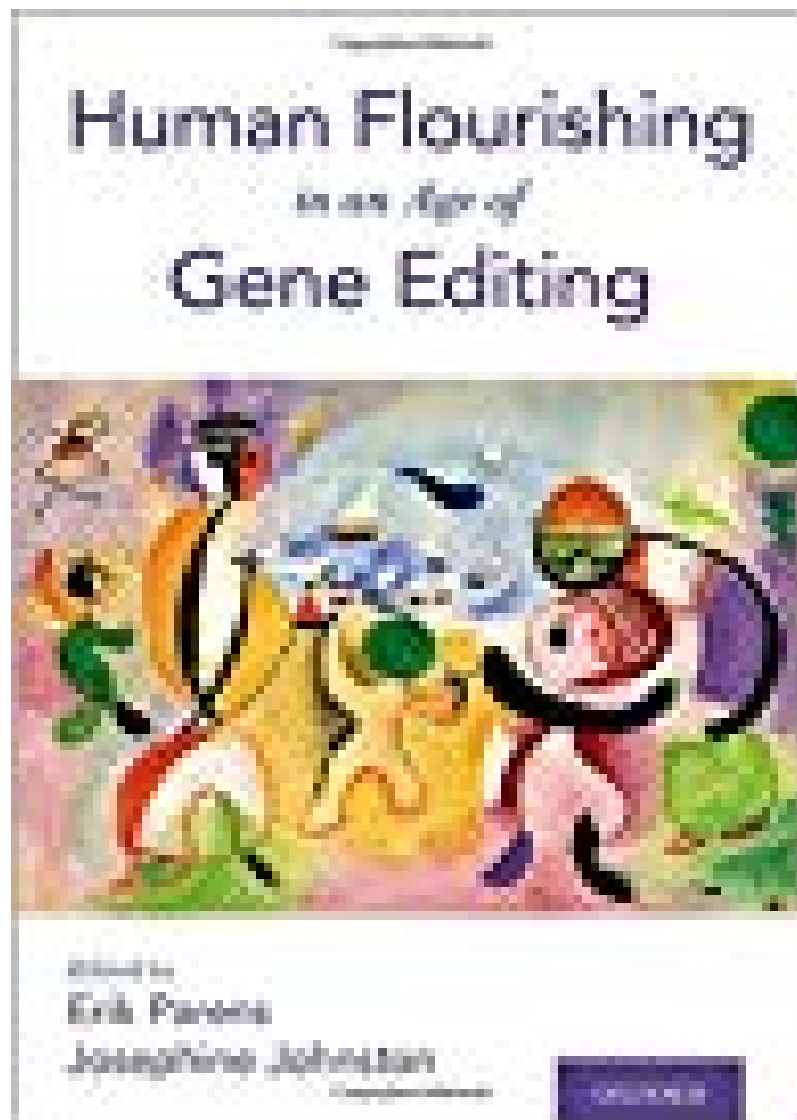


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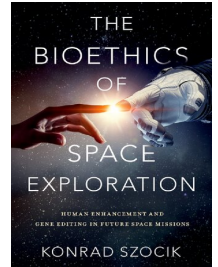


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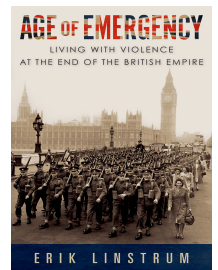
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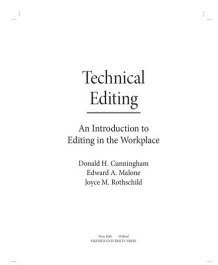
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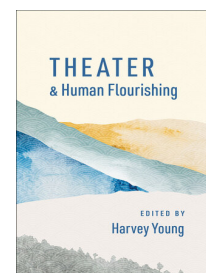
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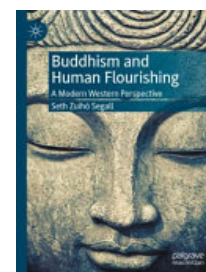
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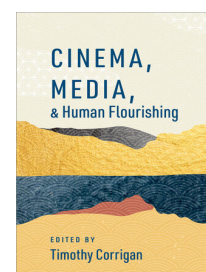
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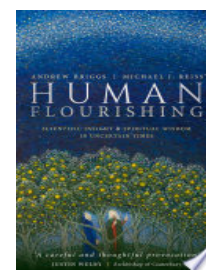
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Human Flourishing

in an Age of

Gene Editing



Edited by
Erik Parens
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ERIK PARENS

JOSEPHINE JOHNSTON

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Human Flourishing in an Age of Gene Editing

Introduction to *Human Flourishing* in an Age of Gene Editing

Erik Parens and Josephine Johnston

In 2015, in the journal *Science*, a highly regarded group of scientists, science policy experts, and ethicists called for a public conversation about the ethical questions raised by a new technology that could be used to alter the genomes of human beings.¹ Among these ethical questions were ones regarding safety. Most simply, could the new technology be deployed without posing an unreasonable risk of causing physical harms? The authors of the commentary in *Science* also alluded to broader ethical questions that have been raised ever since the 1970s, when it first seemed it would be possible to use gene transfer technologies to alter human genomes.² These broader questions have nothing to do with medically detectable harms to people's bodies: Might such technologies push us toward thinking of human beings in increasingly mechanistic terms? Might they push us toward ever-narrower conceptions of acceptable ways to be human? Might they undermine healthy relationships between parents and children? Might they exacerbate the obscene gap between the haves and have-nots? These harms are "nonphysical" in the sense that they wouldn't immediately diminish the functioning of any bodily system. Rather, if they occurred, they would be harms to what we can call people's psyches. They would do harm to people's experience of being persons. They would threaten relationships and strain communities. The broadest form of the question concerning nonphysical harms is: might this technology be used in ways that would inadvertently thwart human flourishing? That is the question motivating this book.

But saying what we mean when we say we're worried about nonphysical harms in general and about flourishing in particular is much harder than saying what we mean when we say we're worried about physical harms. And it is that harder task we have set for ourselves in this volume. We aim for this collection to serve as a resource for people, including those who are not familiar with the formal study of bioethics, to engage in the sort of public conversation called for by the authors of the commentary in *Science*. It is through this public conversation that citizens can influence laws and the distribution of funding for science and medicine; that professional leaders can shape understanding and use of gene editing and related

technologies by scientists, patients, and practitioners; and that individuals can make decisions about their own lives and the lives of their families.

What We Mean by *An Age of Gene Editing*

The specific technology that precipitated the *Science* commentary is called CRISPR-Cas9, and in 2012 it was unveiled as the first in a series of so-called gene editing technologies.³ These gene editing technologies marked a huge leap forward in researchers' ability to engage in what, since at least the 1970s, has been called "genetic engineering." Whereas the older technologies only allowed researchers to transfer copies of whole genes to targeted genomes, the newer gene editing technologies allow them to make changes to as large or as small a part of a gene as they desire. The newer gene editing technologies also enable researchers to make such changes far more easily, cheaply, and reliably than was possible with the old-fashioned "gene transfer" technology.

The technical details regarding CRISPR-Cas9 and related gene editing technologies are complicated, but the basic idea is simple. These technologies can be programmed to target and then cut one or more specific stretches of DNA. The targeted gene can be shut off (deleted) or new DNA can be pasted in. Although CRISPR gene editing technologies are far more accurate than previously available tools, they can accidentally cause unintended or "off-target" changes or fail to make all hoped-for changes, resulting in a mixture of edited and unedited cells within an organism (otherwise known as mosaicism). For an excellent written introduction to the technical details, you might consult Chapter 3 of the 2017 National Academy of Science report on gene editing.⁴ Numerous video introductions to the scientific details of CRISPR technologies can be found on the Internet.⁵

The ethical conversation about gene-altering technologies, whether of the old-fashioned gene transfer variety or the newer gene editing variety, has traditionally employed some basic distinctions. One of those regards the difference between efforts to alter genomes in somatic cells and efforts to alter genomes in germ cells. If the DNA in germ cells (including sperm, eggs, and early embryos) is altered, those alterations appear not only in the DNA of the people who are created from those cells, but also in those people's children. In contrast, if the DNA in somatic cells (all the cells in the body that aren't germ cells) is altered, those alterations are not passed on to future generations.

Another of those basic distinctions seeks to draw a line between treatment and enhancement uses of gene editing technologies. In the case of treatment, a disease-causing bit of the genome is deleted or silenced, with possibly a healthy bit pasted in. In contrast, we can imagine efforts to use the same technology

to enhance some human trait, where a healthy bit of the genome is cut out and a “better-than-healthy” bit pasted in. In principle, gene editing could be used to alter the somatic cells of living persons to enhance their traits, and it could also be used to alter germ cells to enhance the traits of future persons. Efforts of the latter sort are referred to as germline genetic enhancement and, if attempted, would be the most ethically controversial application of gene editing technology.

Those observers, however, who think it would be an ethical mistake to attempt germline genetic enhancement can find some comfort in knowing that, for the foreseeable future, it will likely be very difficult to achieve such interventions with respect to the traits that human beings in our society seem to care about most. The more we know about the staggeringly complex ways in which genes interact with each other and the environment to produce the sorts of enhancements that people might want most for themselves or their children—say, more intelligence, more musical ability, or more resilience—the less likely it seems that it will be possible to produce such traits by editing genes. That is, in practice, CRISPR technologies may not provide the level of control over the shape of our children and ourselves that critics dread and enthusiasts desire.

But this volume is not about any one technology, and it does not assume that it will be technically feasible to achieve the fabulous level of control that would be required to produce children who were more intelligent, musical, or resilient. Rather, it is about a large set of technologies that coexist with gene editing and are sometimes called “reprogenetic,” and it is about the increased level of control over the genetic makeup of our children that these technologies are already beginning to provide. The phrase *in an age of gene editing* in our title is meant to indicate that, while gene editing may be an emblematic technology for the time we live in, it is but one of many related technologies, all of which raise the same set of ethical issues.

Among the other technologies pertinent to our reflections here are preimplantation genetic diagnosis and prenatal genetic testing. Preimplantation genetic diagnosis allows a person who wants to become pregnant to choose which of several embryos with different genomic profiles she wants to have transferred to her uterus. Prenatal genetic testing enables people who are already pregnant to choose whether to bring a fetus with a given genomic profile to term. Neither preimplantation genetic diagnosis nor prenatal genetic testing provides the level of control over the genetic makeup of the child-to-be that is dreamt of by some would-be gene editors, but all of these techniques share the aspiration to increase control over the shape of future generations. It is that aspiration to control, and what it means for the prospects of human flourishing, that we reflect on in this volume.

What We Mean by *Flourishing*

When we use the English word *flourishing* in the title of this volume, we are thinking of it as a translation of the ancient Greek word *eudaimonia*, which Aristotle used to name what he said all human beings want.⁶ Other common translations of *eudaimonia* are “well-being” and “happiness.” According to Aristotle, human beings don’t want to flourish because they think that flourishing will get them something else like, say, power or money. Flourishing (or happiness or well-being) is what humans want for the sake of itself. It isn’t a means for achieving some other end that humans desire; it is the desired end that they desire. People want to flourish because they want to flourish.

So, what more can we say about the meaning of flourishing that is a bit less abstract? It can help to start by distinguishing flourishing from health. Everyone wants to be healthy. But people don’t want health for the sake of itself. They want to be healthy so that they can engage in activities that they find meaningful. They want to be at work in, engaged with, the world. For many human beings, those meaningful activities include engaging in various forms of loving relationships and in various forms of work.

As we try to get a bead on what we mean by flourishing or well-being or happiness, it’s important to notice that we are not talking about a psychological state, say of the sort people would expect to enjoy if they won the lottery or got a job promotion or received a rave review. We’re talking about an experience of being engaged in activities in the world that people find meaningful, which can actually entail temporarily painful psychological states. Being in loving relationships entails negotiating inevitable and sometimes-painful conflicts and, too often, entails the excruciating pain of losing to death the people we love. To be engaged in meaningful work can require sacrificing time that might be spent in other activities that would entail temporarily pleasurable psychological states. Yet both are paradigmatic instances of flourishing.

Flourishing is the experience of being fully alive, exercising whatever particular set of capacities we were thrown into the world with. And, as several contributors to this volume will remind you, flourishing depends less on the particular capacities that one has than on one’s opportunities for exercising them. A corollary of that view is that using genetic technologies in attempts to shape our children’s capacities is less urgent than the even more difficult (if less costly) business of creating environments in which people can exercise whatever capacities they have. The idea that achieving more control over the nature of children might not always promote their flourishing or that of their parents might sound strange at first, but that is one of the central claims we are exploring in this volume.

Acceptance Can Conduce to Flourishing

In the first section of our book, three authors open up the discussion from very different levels and perspectives, previewing themes and questions taken up in subsequent chapters. English Professor and bioethicist Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, writing from her and others' experience of disability, argues that for a greater openness to the fact that people with all sorts of bodies can flourish magnificently. She argues that to promote flourishing, instead of changing bodies or genes, individuals and societies should invest in changing environments in ways that make them more welcoming of different kinds of bodies. Philosopher Daniel Haybron introduces a very brief history of the idea of flourishing in the West before exploring the significance for human well-being of authenticity, a value that is arguably at stake when considering altering genomes to enhance human capacities. Sociologist John Evans offers a history of the way in which some prominent thinkers about public policy have, lamentably, discounted concerns about human flourishing.

In the next section of the book, three contributors pick up an argument introduced by Garland-Thompson: that one way to promote human flourishing is to honor the stance of, or attitude of, what might be called acceptance. We say "might be called acceptance" for at least two reasons. First, the word *acceptance* can have a connotation of passivity, which is not what our authors intend; accepting what is requires attention and energy. Second, acceptance might not perfectly capture the resonance of being grateful for or affirming what is, which some, if not all, of our authors do intend. Those caveats aside, acceptance is not a bad term to name the attitude or stance toward our children and ourselves that the authors in this volume are converging on. We should add that while they are converging on a defense of the attitude or stance of acceptance, they are surely not absolutist in that defense. They are doing no more or less than offering what they take to be a critique of the status quo—where the status quo assumes that more control, or more shaping, is better.⁷ They are making the claim that if human beings could become less preoccupied with transforming the bodies of themselves and their children, they might flourish more.

Philosopher Michael Hauskeller makes an argument that expands the notion of acceptance to the notion of cherishing. If people can learn to cherish children and the world as they are (as opposed to how people might think they should be) everyone would flourish more. Whereas Hauskeller draws on the insights of Western philosophy, Richard Kim draws on the insights of Eastern philosophy to make the case for learning to let things be. And philosopher Gregory Kaebnick explains that, while the case for accepting nature as we find it is under constant challenge today, that case can be made with intellectual integrity, and it warrants respect.

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Exploring the Variety of Random Documents with Different Content

- [90] *Divine Names*, iv, 13: Parker, p. 48.
- [91] *Enneads* vi, ch. ix, 9.
- [92] *Ibid.* vi, ch. ix, 8; ch. vi, 11.
- [93] Parker, p. 142.
- [94] *Enneads*, vi, ch. vii, 36; v, ch. iii, 17; v, ch. v, 7.
- [95] *Symposium*, 210 E. See the admirable elucidations in Rhode's *Psyche*, ed. 1898, Vol. I, p. 298; Vol. II, pp. 279; 283, 284.
- [96] *Divine Names*, i, 5: Parker, p. 8.
- [97] *Divine Names*, iv, 6; *Mystic Theology*, i, iii: Parker, pp. 39, 132.
- [98] *In Alcibiadem*, ii, 302.
- [99] *Mystic Theology*, iv, v; *Divine Names* i, 1: Parker, pp. 136, 137; 1; *In Alcibiadem*, ii, 302.
- [100] *Heavenly Hierarchy*, ch. xv, s. 3: Parker, p. 60.
- [101] *In Alcibiadem*, iii, 75.
- [102] *Divine Names*, iii, 1: Parker, pp. 27, 28. *In Parmenidem*, iv, 68.
- [103] *Divine Names*, i, 5; *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, i, 2; *Divine Names*, ix, 5: Parker, pp. 8, 69, 104.
- [104] *Institutio Theologica*, c. 129.
- [105] *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, iii, 3, 7: Parker, p. 97.
- [106] *Divine Names*, i, 6; viii, 3; 5: Parker, pp. 10, 95, 96.
- [107] *In Parmenidem*, iv, 34; v.
- [108] *Divine Names* viii, 2; iv, 4; iv, 20: Parker, pp. 95, 84, 57.
- [109] *Laude de lo contemplativo et extatico B. F. Jacopone de lo Ordine de lo Seraphico S. Francesco...* In Firenze, per Ser Francesco Bonaccorsi, MCCCCLXXXX. Only the sheets are numbered; and two Lode have, by mistake, been both numbered LVIII: I have indicated them by LVIIIa and LVIIIb respectively. I have much felt the absence of any monograph on the sources and character of Jacopone's doctrine.
- [110] *Enneads*, vi, ch. ix, II.
- [111] *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, XXXI.

[112] E. Caird, "St. Paul and the Idea of Evolution," *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. II, 1904, pp. 1-19. W. Dilthey has shown this by implication, in his studies of Erasmus, Luther, and Zwingli: *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. V, 1892, especially, pp. 381-385.

[113] Mark i, 13, and parallels; Matt. xix, 10-12.

[114] Mark vi, 8; Matt. x, 26-38; viii, 19-22; xiii, 30-32; xxxiv, 42, and parallels.

[115] Matt. vii, 13, 14; xviii, 1-5; xvi, 24-28.

[116] Mark xiv, 38, and parallels.

[117] Rom. vii, 24, 18.

[118] 2 Cor. v, 1-4 = Wisd. of Sol. ix, 15.

[119] See Erwin Rhode's *Psyche*, ed. 1898, Vol. II, p. 101, n. 2.

[120] I owe much help towards acquiring this very important conception, and all the above similes, to Prof. Ernst Troeltsch's admirable exposition in his "Grundprobleme der Ethik," *Zeitschrift f. Theologie und Kirche*, 1902, pp. 163-178.

[121] *St. Augustine*, ed. Ben., Vol. X, 590*b*, 613*a*, 1973*c*, etc. St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, suppl., qu. 62, art. 2.

[122] My chief authorities throughout this section have been Bossuet's *Instruction sur les Etats d'Oraison* of 1687, with the important documents prefixed and appended to it (*Œuvres de Bossuet*, ed. Versailles, 1817, Vol. XXVII); Fénelon's chief apologetic works, especially his *Instruction Pastorale*, his *Letteres en Réponse à Divers Ecrits ou Mémoires*, his *Lettre sur l'Etat Passif*, and his two Latin Letters to Pope Clement XI (*Œuvres de Fénelon*, ed. Versailles, 1820, Vols. IV, VI, VIII, and IX); and Abbé Gosselin's admirably clear, impartial, cautious, and authoritative *Analyse de la Controverse du Quiétisme*. I have studied these works, and the condemned propositions of the Beguards, of Molinos, and of Fénelon, very carefully, and believe myself to have, in my text, taken up a position identical with M. Gosselin's.

[123] F. C. S. Schiller, Essay "Activity and Substance," pp. 204-227,—an admirably thorough piece of work, in *Humanism*, 1903. See his p. 208.

[124] See Heinrich Heppe, *Geschichte der Quietistischen Mystik*, Berlin, 1875, p. 521. The obviously strong partisan bias of the author against Rome,—of which more lower down,—does not

destroy the great value of the large collection of now, in many cases, most rare and inaccessible documents given, often *in extenso*, in this interesting book.

[125] Heppe, *op. cit.* pp. 130-133.

[126] There is a good article on Petrucci in the Catholic Freiburg *Kirchenlexikon*, 2nd ed., 1895; and Heppe, in his *Geschichte*, pp. 135-144, gives extracts from his chief book. Bossuet's attack, *Œuvres*, ed. 1817, Vol. XXIX.

[127] Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 1885, Vol. II, pp. 611; 622, 623; 625.

[128] Gosselin's *Analyse*, *Œuvres de Fénelon*, ed. cit. Vol. IV, pp. xci-xcv.

[129] Fénelon, *Explication ... des Propositions de Molinos* (*Œuvres*, Vol. IV, pp. 25-86). Gosselin, *Analyse* (*ibid.* pp. ccxvi-ccxxiii).

[130] *Œuvres de Fénelon*, Vol. VIII, pp. 6, 7.

[131] Heppe, *op. cit.* p. 62. Reusch, *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 619, 620.

[132] I write with these approbations before me, as reprinted in the *Recueil de Diverses Pièces concernant le Quiétisme*, Amsterdam, 1688.

[133] *Œuvres de Bossuet*, ed. 1817, Vol. XXVII, pp. 497-502. Heppe, *op. cit.* pp. 27g n.; 273-281. Denzinger, *Encheiridion*, ed. 1888, pp. 266-274.

[134] Reusch, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 618 n. 1.

[135] See Heppe, p. 264, n.

[136] *Recueil de Diverses Pièces*, pp. 61, 62.

[137] *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, pp. 209, 211.

[138] *De Beatitudine*, c. 3, 3.

[139] I have been much helped in my own direct studies of the sources by W. Bousset's *Die Religion des Judenthums im Neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 1903; by H. J. Holtzmann's *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, 1897; and A. Jülicher's *Gleichnissreden Jesu*, Theil 2, 1899.

[140] Bousset, pp. 395, 396.

[141] Ch. xii, 8, 9; see too ch. ii, 2, 7.

[142] Pirke Aboth, v, 23.

[143] Matt. v, 12; vi, 4, 6, 18, 20; Mark x, 21; ix, 41; Luke x, 7.

[144] Matt. v, 7; vi, 14; xviii, 32.

[145] Matt. v, 5; Luke xiv, 8-11; Matt. x, 39.

[146] Matt. v, 8.

[147] Matt. x, 41, 42.

[148] Matt. xix, 29; Mark x, 23; Luke vi, 38; Matt. xxii, 12; xxv, 21; xxiv, 47; Luke xii, 37.

[149] Interesting reasons and parallels for holding the Wedding Garment to have been the gift of the King, in Bugge's *Die Haupt-Parabeln Jesu*, 1900, pp. 316, 317.

[150] Jülicher, *op. cit.* p. 467. Bugge, *op. cit.* p. 277.

[151] Matt. vi, 1, 2, 5, 16.

[152] Matt. vi, 11; xx, 14; Luke xvii, 10; Matt. vi, 33; v, 48, 44, 45; Luke vii, 47. It seems plain that the Parable of the Two Debtors, which appears in this last passage, declares how pardon awakens love; and that the sinful woman's act and Our Lord's direct comment on it, which are now made to serve as that Parable's frame, demonstrate how love produces pardon. In my text I have been busy only with the second of these twin truths.

[153] Luke vi, 33, 34.

[154] Rom. ii, 6; 2 Cor. v, 10.

[155] 1 Cor. xv, 19, 32.

[156] Gal. iii, 19; 2 Cor. iv, 16; xii, 9; Rom. viii, 31, 35, 37-39; xiv, 8.

[157] Ps. lxxiii (lxii), v. 25. I follow Duhm's restoration of the text.

[158] 1 Cor. xiii, 13; 8, 7.

[159] *Œuvres*, ed. Versailles, 1820, Vols. IV to IX.

[160] *Réponse: Œuvres*, Vol. IV, pp. 119-132; *Instruction: ibid.* pp. 181-308; *Lettre sur l'Oraison*, Vol. VIII, pp. 3-82; *Lettre sur la Charité*, Vol IX, pp. 3-56; *Epistola II, ibid.* pp. 617-677.

[161] *The Spiritual Letters of Fénelon*, London, 1892, Vol. I, pp. xi, xii.

[162] *Œuvres de Fénelon*, ed. 1820, Vol. IV, pp. lxxix-ccxxxiv.

[163] *Summa Theologica*, II, ii, qu. 17, art. 8, in corp.

[164] Comment in II, ii, qu. 23, art. 1.

[165] *Summa*, II, ii, qu. 23, art. 6, concl., et in corp.; I, ii, qu. 28, art. 1, in corp., et ad 2. See also II, ii, qu. 17, art. 6, in corp.; qu. 28, art. 1 ad 3; I, ii, qu. 28, art. 1, in corp., et ad 2.

[166] In Libr. sent. II, dist. 30, qu. 1 ad 2.

[167] *Summa Theol.*, III, qu. 85, art. 2 ad 1; I, ii, qu. 114, art. 4, in corp. In Libr. sent. III, dist. 30, art. 5.

[168] Some of the finest descriptions of these profoundly organized states common, in some degrees and forms, to all mankind, are to be found in the tenth and eleventh books of St. Augustine's *Confessions*, A.D. 397, and in Henri Bergson's *Essai sur les Données Immédiates de la Conscience*, 1898.

[169] *Stromata*, Book IV, ch. vi, 30, 1; ch. iv, 15, 6.

[170] Proemium in *Reg. Fus. Tract.* n. 3, Vol. II, pp. 329, 330.

[171] *Summa Theol.*, II, ii, qu. 27, art. 3.

[172] The obligation for all of acts of Pure Love is clearly taught by the condemnations, passed by Popes Alexander VII and Innocent XI, upon the opposite contention, in 1665 and 1679: "Homo nullo unquam vitae suae tempore tenetur elicere actum Fidei, Spei et Charitatis, ex vi praeceptorum divinorum ad eas virtutes pertinentium." Note here how "Charitas" necessarily means Pure Love, since Imperfect Love has already been mentioned in "Spes."—"Probabile est, ne singulis quidem rigorose quinquenniis per se obligare praeceptum charitatis erga Deum. Tunc solum obligat, quando tenemur justificari et non habemus aliam viam qua justificari possumus." Here Pure Love is undoubtedly meant by "Charitas," since, outside of the use of the sacraments, Pure Love alone justifies.

[173] *The Problem of Conduct*, 1901, p. 329, n.

[174] *Life, written by Herself*, ch. XXII, tr. by David Lewis, ed. 1888, pp. 162-174.

[175] Deharbe, *op. cit.* pp. 139-179, has an admirable exposition and proof of this point, backed up by conclusive experiences and analyses of Saints and Schoolmen.

[176] See Deharbe's excellent remarks, *op. cit.* pp. 109, 110, n.

[177] *Analyse*, *loc. cit.* pp. cxxii, cxxiii, *Lettre sur l'Oraison Passive*, *Œuvres*, Vol. VIII, p. 47.

[178] *Analyse*, p. cxxiii.

[179] *Lettre sur l'Oraison Passive*, *Œuvres*, Vol. VIII, pp. 10; 18, 11, 12; 14, 15; 74.

[180] *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, c. iv, opening of par. 4, ed. Van Vloten et Land, 1895, Vol. II, p. 4; *ibid.* middle of par. 3, p. 3; *Ethica*, p. v, prop. xli, *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 264; *ibid.* *Scholion*, p. 265; *ibid.* prop. xix, p. 251; *ibid.* prop. xx, p. 251; *ibid.* prop. xlii, p. 265; *ibid.* prop. xxxvi, p. 261.

[181] *Die Philosophischen Schriften von Leibniz*, ed. Gebhardt, Vol. VI, 1885, pp. 605, 606; and quotation in Gosselin's *Analyse*, *Œuvres de Fénelon*, 1820, Vol. IV, pp. clxxviii, clxxvii.

[182] It is to Schweizer's admirable monograph, *Die Religions-Philosophie Kant's*, 1899, pp. 4-70, that I owe my clear apprehension of this very interesting doubleness in Kant's outlook.

[183] *Loc. cit.* pp. 611, 614, 615, 616.

[184] Kant's *Werke*, ed. Berlin Academy, Vol. IV, 1903, pp. 393, 394; 396.

[185] Kant, 1904, p. 131.

[186] *The Problem of Conduct*, pp. 336, 337; 329.

[187] *Ibid.* p. 327.

[188] See James Seth, *A Study of Ethical Principles*, 1894, pp. 193-236, where this position, denominated there "Eudaemonism," is contrasted with "Hedonism," uniquely or at least predominantly occupied with the act's sensational materials or concomitances, and "Rigorism," with its one-sided insistence upon the rational form and end of action.

[189] Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 901.

[190] *Seconde Lettre à Monsieur de Paris*, *Œuvres*, Vol. V, pp. 268, 269. *Lettres de M. de Cambrai à un de ses Amis*, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 168.

[191] Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religions-Geschichte*, ed. 1905, Vol. I, pp. 69, 73-83.

[192] Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religions-Geschichte*, ed. 1887, Vol. I, pp. 248, 249.

[193] *Ibid.* pp. 358, 373.

[194] Oldenberg, *Buddha*, ed. 1897, pp. 310-328; especially 313, 314; 316, 317; 327, 328.

[195] My chief authority here has been that astonishingly living and many-sided book, Erwin Rhode's *Psyche*, ed. 1898, especially Vol. II, pp. 263-295 (Plato); Vol. I, pp. 14-90 (Homer); 91-110 (Hesiod); pp. 146-199 (the Heroes); pp. 279-319, and Vol. II, pp. 1-136 (Eleusinian Mysteries, Dionysian Religion, the Orphics). The culminating interest of this great work lies in this last treble section and in the Plato part.

[196] *Psyche*, Vol. I, pp. 308, 312. *New Chapters in Greek History*, 1892, pp. 333, 334.

[197] See also the important study of the Abbé Touzard, *Le Développement de la Doctrine de l'Immortalité*, *Revue Biblique*, 1898, pp. 207-241.

[198] Charles, *op. cit.* pp. 52, 53; 58; 61; 84; 124, 125; 126-132; 68-77.

[199] B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Vol. I, 1905, p. 184.

[200] *L'Automatisme Psychologique*, ed. 1903, p. 5.

[201] W. James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 1891, Vol. II, pp. 442-467.

[202] See Prof. James Ward's closely knit proof in his *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, 2nd ed., 1905, and his striking address, "Mechanism and Morals," *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1905.

[203] "The Desire for Immortality," in *Humanism* 1903, pp. 228-249.

[204] *Op. cit.* Lib. XVIII, c. x, ed. 1559, fol. 3413.

[205] Neither she nor her friends can have derived these doctrines from Ficino's *Theologia Platonica*, Florence, 1482, since precisely the points in question are quite curiously absent from, or barely recognizable in, that book. See its cc. x and xi, Book XVIII, on "the State of the Impure Soul" and "the State of the Imperfect Soul" respectively: ed. 1559, fol. 340, v. seq. See also foll. 318r, 319v.

[206] *Phaedo*, 81a-82a.

[207] *Laws*, X, 904a-e.

[208] *Timaeus*, 41*d*, *e*; 42*b*, *d*, I have, for clearness' sake, turned Plato's indirect sentences into direct ones; and have taken the *Timaeus* after the *Laws*, although it is chronologically prior to them, because the full balance of his system, (which requires the originally lofty "place" of each individual soul),—is, I think, abandoned in the *Laws*: see 904*a*.

[209] These four passages are all within pp. 110*b*-114*d* of the *Phaedo*.

[210] *Gorgias*, pp. 525*b*, *c*; 526*c*, *d*.

[211] *Ibid.* p. 523*b-e*.

[212] 2 Cor. v, 2, 3.—*Vita*, pp. 109*b*, 66*a*, 171*a*.

[213] *Republic*, X, pp. 617*e*, 619*e*, 920*e*.

[214] *Phaedrus*, p. 249*b*.

[215] *Enneads*, III, 4, 5.

[216] Enarr. in Ps. xxxvi, § 1, n. 10, ed. Ben., col. 375*b*. See also *Enchiridion*, CIX, *ibid.* col. 402*d*.

[217] So in the *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. XXI, c. xxvi, n. 4, *ibid.* col. 1037*d*.

[218] *Confess.*, Lib. I, c. 2, n. 1; X, c. 26; XIII, c. 7.

[219] *De Genesi ad litt.*, Lib. VIII, n. 39, ed. Ben. col. 387*b*; n. 43, col. 389*a*.

[220] *Ibid.* Lib. XII, n. 32, col. 507*c*. He soon after attempts to decide in favour of "incorporeal places," as the other-world destination of all classes of human souls.

[221] Esra IV, iv, 35. See also iv, 41; vii, 32, 80, 95, 101. Apocalypse of Baruch, xxx, 2.

[222] *Summa Theol.* suppl., qu. 69, art. 1, in corp. et ad 3; art. 6, in corp.; Appendix de Purgat., art. 2, in corp.; suppl., qu. 69, art 7 concl.

[223] *De gratia primi hominis*, XIV.

[224] Clemens, *Stromata*, VII, 6. Origen, *De Princ.*, II, 10, 4. St. Greg. Nyss., *Orat.*, XL, 36. St. Greg. Nazianz., *Poema de Seipso*, I, 546. St. Joann. Damasc., *De Fide Orthod.*, cap. ult.

[225] St. Ambros., *In Lucam*, VII, 205. St. Hieron., Ep. 124, 7; *Apol. contra Ruf.*, II; in Isa. lxxv, 24.

[226] *Liber de Fide* (413 A.D.), 27, 29; ed. Ben., coll. 313*b*, 314*c*. *De octo Dulcit. quaestm* (422 A.D.) 12, 13; *ibid.* coll. 219*d*, 220*a*. Repeated in *Enchiridion* (423 A.D.?), LXIX; *ibid.* col. 382*b*, *c*.

[227] *De Purgatorio*, II, 11.

[228] Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, ed. 1888, No. LXXIII.

[229] *Theol. Dogm.*, Vol. II, num. 206.

[230] *Œuvres*, ed. Versailles, 1816, Vol. XI, p. 376.

[231] *Le feu du Purgatoire est-il un feu corporel? op. cit.*, 1902, pp. 263-282; 270. I owe most of my references on this point to this paper.

[232] *Sixteen Revelations of Mother Juliana of Norwich*, 1373, ed. 1902, pp. 73, 74, 78.

[233] *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, 1899, pp. 63, 64.

[234] *Divine Names*, ch. iv, secs, xxiii, xxiv: Parker, pp. 61-64.

[235] *Vita*, pp. 173*b*; 33*b*.

[236] *Summa Theol.*, suppl., qu. 69, art. 7 ad 9.

[237] Dionysius, *Divine Names*, ch. iv, sec. xxiii: Parker, p. 63. St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, suppl., qu. 98, art. 1, in corp.

[238] *Enchiridion*, CX, ed. Ben., col. 403*c*; CXII, col. 404*c*.

[239] The passages here referred to will be found carefully quoted and discussed in Petavius's great *Dogmata Theologica*, *De Angelis*, III, viii, 16, 17, with Zaccaria's important note (ed. Fournials, 1866, Vol. IV, pp. 119-121).

[240] *Dogmata Theologica*, Vol. IV, p. 120*b*. See also the interesting note in the Benedictine Edition of *St. Augustine*, Vol. VI, col. 403.

[241] *Vie de M. Emery*, by M. Gosselin, Paris, 1862, Vol. II, pp. 322-324.

[242] *Vita (Trattato)*, p. 173*b*.

[243] So Atzberger, in Scheeben's *Dogmatik*, Vol. IV (1903), p. 826.

[244] *Enigmas of Life*, ed. 1892, p. 255.

[245] *Divine Names*, ch. iv, secs. 23, 24: Parker, pp. 70, 71.

[246] 2 Cor. iv, 16.

[247] See H. J. Holtzmann, Richard Rothe's *Speculatives System*, 1899, pp. 110, 111; 123, 124;—Georg Class, *Phänomenologie und Ontologie des Menschlichen Geistes*, 1896, pp. 220, 221;—and that strange mixture of stimulating thought, deep earnestness, and fantastic prejudice, Edward White's *Life of Christ*, ed. 1876.

[248] *Grammar of Assent*, 1870, p. 417. *Hard Sayings*, 1898, p. 113.

[249] G. E. Lessing, "Leibniz von den Ewigen Strafen," in Lessing's *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Lachmann-Muncker, 1895, Vol. XI, p. 486. D. F. Strauss, *Die christliche Glaubenslehre*, 1841, Vol. II, pp. 684, 685. Carl von Hase, *Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik*, ed. 1864, p. 422. G. T. Fechner, *Die drei Gründe und Motive des Glaubens*, 1863, pp. 146, 147, 177. G. Anrich, "Clemens und Origenes, als Begründer der Lehre vom Fegfeuer," in *Theologische Abhandlungen für H. J. Holtzmann*, 1902, p. 120.

[250] W. R. Greg, *Enigmas of Life*, ed. 1892, pp. 256, 257, 259. J. S. Mill, *Three Essays on Religion*, ed. 1874, p. 211.

[251] Sess. XXV, Decret. de Purgatorio, med.

[252] N. Paulus, *Johann Tetzel* 1899. Brieger's review, *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, 1900, coll. 117, 118.

[253] 1 Cor. xv, 29.

[254] *De Corona*, III, IV. See M. Salomon Reinach's interesting paper, "l'Origine des Prières pour les Morts," in *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, 1905, pp. 316-331.

[255] W. Bacher, *Die Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer*, Vol. I, 1892, p. 331.

[256] *Strom.*, VII, 26 (Migne, *Ser. Graec*, Vol. IX, col. 541); I, 26 (*ibid.* Vol. VIII, col. 916); VII, 26 (*ibid.* Vol. IX, col. 540).

[257] *De Princ.*, II, 10, 6. *De Orat.*, XXIX, p. 263.

[258] *Paedag.*, I, 8, p. 51; and Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 477a.

[259] I owe here almost everything to the truly classical account in Rhode's *Psyche*, ed. 1898, Vol. II, pp. 1-136.

[260] *Republic* II, p. 364b, c, e.

[261] I take these passages from Anrich's *Clemens und Origenes*, *op. cit.* p. 102, n. 5.

[262] Clemens, *Strom.*, V, 3, p. 236. Origen, *Contra Cels.*, VII, 13. Clemens, *Strom.*, IV, 24. Origen, *Contra Cels.*, IV, 13.

[263] Dionysius, *Divine Names*, ch. iv, sec. 24: Parker, p. 64. St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* I, ii, qu. 86, art. 1 ad 3 et concl.

[264] *Treatise on Purgatory*, by St. Catherine of Genoa, ed. 1880, p. 31.

[265] Plato, *Cratylus*, p. 400c. *Republic*, II, p. 364e. Euripides, *Orestes XXX*, *seq.*, with Schol. Rhode, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 101, n. 2.

[266] *Natur. quaest.* III, 28, 7; 30, 7, 8.

[267] Disp. XI, Sec. iv, art. 2, §§ 13, 10; Disp. XLVII, Sec. i, art 6.

[268] Scheeben's *Dogmatik* Vol. IV, 1903, pp. 856 (No. 93), 723.

[269] See Abbé Boudhinon's careful article, "Sur l'Histoire des Indulgences," *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, 1898, pp. 435-455, for a vivid illustration of the necessity of explaining the details of this doctrine and practice by history of the most patient kind.

[270] Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, ed. 1888, Nos. 387, 588, 859.

[271] Denzinger, *ibid.*, Hurter, *op. cit.* ed. 1893, Vol. III, p. 591.

[272] Denzinger, Nos. 778, 951.

[273] Cardinal Manning in *Treatise*, ed. cit. p. 31.

[274] *Op. cit.* pp. 119, 120: "The Purgatory of the Catholic Church, in strictness, bears its name without warrant."

[275] *Cat.*, cc. viii, 35.

[276] *De octo Dulcitii quaest.* 12, 13.

[277] *Summa Theol.*, app., qu. 2, art. 4, in corp. et ad 4.

[278] *Divina Commedia*, Purg. II, 40-42. See Faber, *All for Jesus*, ed. 1889, p. 361.

[279] *De Purgatorio*, Lib. I, c. iv, 6; c. xiv, 22.

[280] *Les Controverses*, Pt. III, ch. ii, art. 1 (end); *Œuvres*, Annecy, 1892 *seq.*, Vol. I, p. 365.

[281] Faber's *All for Jesus*, 1853, ch. ix, sec. 4; Cardinal Manning's Appendix (B) to Engl. tr. of St. Catherine's *Treatise on Purgatory*, 1858; Cardinal Newman's *Dream of Gerontius*, 1865.

[282] *In Rom.*, Tom. II, i, p. 477.

[283] *Richard Rothe's Spekulative System*, 1899, pp. 123, 124.

[284] *Richard Rothe's Spekulative System*, 1899, pp. 69; 74, 75.

[285] St. Augustine, *Confessions*, Lib. XI, ch. xxvii, 3; ch. xx; ch. xi. *De Trinit.*, Lib. XV, ch. 16, ed. Ben., col. 1492 D.—St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, I, qu. 12, art. 10, in corp.

[286] I am here but giving an abstract of Mr. F. C. S. Schiller's admirable essay, "Activity and Substance," pp. 204-227 of his *Humanism*, 1903, where all the Aristotelian passages are carefully quoted and discussed. He is surely right in translating ἡρεμία by "constancy," not by "rest."

[287] *Summa Theol.*, I, qu. 4, art. 1, concl. qu. 25, art. 1 ad 2 et concl.

[288] *Matt.* xxii, 32.

[289] *Metaphysic*, xii, 1072*b*, 1074*b*.

[290] E. Caird, *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, 1904 Vol. II, pp. 12, 16. See here, too, the fine discussion of the other, rightly immanent as well as transcendental, teaching of Aristotle, pp. 15, 21.

[291] *Summa Theol.*, I, ii, qu. 3, art. 2 ad 4; art. 4, concl.

[292] *Ibid.* I, qu. 14, art. 4, in corp.; qu. 19, art. I, concl.; qu. 20, art. I, concl.

[293] *Summa Theol.*, I, qu. 14, art. 11, 3; qu. 14, art. 2, ad 2; I, ii, qu. 3, art. 2 ad 4.

[294] *Ibid.* I, qu. 12, art. 8 ad 4; I, ii, qu. 4, art. 8 ad 3.

[295] *Ibid.* I, qu. 14, art. 8, in corp.; art. 11, contra et concl.; art. 8, concl.; art. 11, concl.—*Contra Gent.*, Lib. III, c. xxi, in fine.

[296] *Summa Theol.*, II, ii, qu. 3, art. 4, 4; I, qu. 19, art. 2, in corp.; qu. 20, art. 1 ad 1; ad 3; art. 2 ad 1.

[297] *Mark* xii, 28-34 and parallels; *Matt.* x, 29; *Luke* xii, 6; *Matt.* xxv, 10; *Mark* xiv, 25 and parallels, and elsewhere; *Apoc.* vii, 9.

[298] Matt. xviii, 12-14; Luke xv, 1-10; John x, 11-16 (Ezekiel xxxiv, 12-19).

[299] *Summa Theol.*, I, qu. 47, art. 1, in corp.

[300] *Summa Theol.*, I, qu. 29, art. 3 ad 4; ad 2; in corp. *Contra Gent.*, Lib. II, c. xciv, init.; c. xciii.

[301] *Excitationum*, Lib. VIII, 604.

[302] *The World and the Individual*, Vol. II, p. 430.

[303] G. E. Lessing: *Leibniz von den Ewigen Strafen*, *Werke*, ed. Lachmann-Muncker, Vol. XI, 1895, p. 482. E. Troeltsch, *Theologische Rundschau*, 1893, p. 72.

[304] *Summa Theol.*, I, qu. 12, art. 1, in corp.; art. 7, in corp.; art. 6 ad 1.

[305] "A Spiritual Canticle," stanza vii, 10, in *Works*, transl. by D. Lewis, ed. 1891, pp. 206, 207.

[306] *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, *Werke*, ed. Hartenstein, 1868, Vol. VI, pp. 252, 274.

[307] *Kant*, 1904, pp. 129-132.

[308] *Das Historische in Kant's Religions-philosophie*, *Kant-Studien*, 1904, pp. 43, 44.

[309] "Das Heilige," in *Präludien*, 1903, pp. 356, 357.

[310] *Elements of the Science of Religion*, 1897, Vol. I, pp. 274, 275; Vol. II, p. 23.

[311] *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, ed. 1892, p. 281.

[312] *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, ed. 1892, pp. 27, 28; 230, 231; 262; 23.

[313] E. Caird, *Development of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, Vol. I, pp. 367, 362. The whole chapter, "Does the Primacy belong to Reason or to Will?" pp. 350-382, is admirable in its richness and balance.

[314] *Verkehr des Christen*, pp. 15, 16.

[315] I. Kant, "Anthropologie," in *Werke*, ed. Berlin Academy, Vol. VII, 1907, pp. 135, 136. G. W. Leibniz, "Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement," in *Die philosophischen Schriften von G. W. L.*, ed. Gerhardt, Vol. V, 1882, pp. 8, 10; 45, 69, 100, 121, 122.

[316] All this first clearly formulated by Leibniz, *op. cit.* pp. 121, 122.

[317] See his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, pp. 209-211; 242, 243; and elsewhere.

[318] *The Prophets of Israel*, 1882, pp. 11, 12; 10, 11.

[319] *Lex Orandi*, 1903, pp. xxix, xxxi.

[320] M. Jastrow, *The Study of Religion*, 1901, pp. 279-286. C. P. Tiele, *Elements of the Science of Religion*, 1897, Vol. II, pp. 227-234; L. W. E. Rauwenhoff, *Religions-philosophie*, Germ. tr., ed. 1894, pp. 109-124. R. Eucken, *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion*, 1901, pp. 59-238; 303-399. There are important points in pp. 425-438, which I do not accept.

[321] *Rothe's Spekulative System*, 1899, pp. 25, 26.

[322] *Elements of the Science of Religion*, 1897, Vol. II, pp. 61, 62.

[323] *Der Kampf um einen geistigen Lebensinhalt*, 1896, p. 309.

[324] *The Evolution of Religion*, 1893, Vol. II, p. 313.

[325] "Grundprobleme der Ethik," in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1902, pp. 164; 166, 167; 172.

[326] *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, I, Anhang, p. 653.

[327] A. E. Taylor's *The Problem of Conduct*, 1901, contains, pp. 469-487, a very vigorous and suggestive study of the similarities and differences between Morality and Religion, marred though it is by paradox and impatience.

[328] J. Volkelt, *Immanuel Kant's Erkenntnistheorie*, 1879, pp. 258, 259.

[329] *Ibid.* pp. 206, 208, 209.

[330] J. Volkelt, *Immanuel Kant's Erkenntnistheorie*, 1879, p. 244.

[331] James Ward, "Present Problems of Psychology," in (American) *Philosophical Review*, 1904, p. 607. J. Volkelt, *Kant's Erkenntnistheorie*, p. 241.

[332] In a Letter of 1772, *Briefe*, ed. Berlin Academy, Vol. I, 1900, p. 126.

- [333] H. Jones, *A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Lotze*, 1895, pp. 102-104; 106, 107; 108, 111.
- [334] *The Present Problems*, pp. 606, 607.
- [335] J. Volkelt, *Erfahrung und Denken*, 1886, p. 485.
- [336] James Ward, "On the Definition of Psychology," in *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. I, 1904, p. 25.
- [337] There is a good description of this doctrine in H. Höffding's *Sören Kierkegaard*, Stuttgart, 1896, pp. 100-104.
- [338] Höffding's *Kierkegaard*, pp. 119, 120.
- [339] *Ibid.* p. 123.
- [340] See *Works*, ed. London, 1898, Vol. II, pp. 299-306.
- [341] *Quaestio Mystica*, at the end of the notes to Chapter V of Dionysius's *Mystical Theology*, ed. Migne, 1889, Vol. I, pp. 1050-1058.
- [342] *In Librum Boetii de Trinitate*, in D. Thomae Aquinatis *Opera*, ed. altera Veneta, Vol. VIII, 1776, pp. 341*b*, 342*a*; 291*a*.
- [343] *Mystical Theology*, Dr. Parker, pp. 135, 136. I have somewhat modified Parker's rendering.
- [344] *Religions-philosophie*, German tr. ed. 1894, p. 116. His scheme finds three psychological forms and constituents in all religion, Intellectualism, Mysticism, Moralism, each with its own advantages and dangers.
- [345] *Confessions*: "Evil, Negative," VII, 12, etc. "Evil, Positive," VI, 15; VIII, 5, 11, etc.
- [346] *Opus Imperfectum*, III, 56, ed. Ben., Vol. X, col. 1750*b*. *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia*, I, 23, *ibid.* col. 625*a*.—M. L. Grandgeorge, in his memoir *St. Augustin et le Neo-Platonisme*, 1896, gives an interesting collection of such Negative and Positive declarations, and traces the former to their precise sources in Plotinus, pp. 126, 127; 130, 131.
- [347] *Divine Names*, ch. iv, sec. xxiv.
- [348] *Summa Theol.*, I, ii, qu. 86, art. 1 ad 3.
- [349] *Vita*, pp. 39*b*, 116*b*.
- [350] *Sixteen Revelations*, ed. 1902, pp. 69, 70.

[351] Meister Eckhart's "Lateinische Schriften," published by Denifle, *Archiv f. Litteratur u. Kirchengeschichte des M. A.*, 1886, p. 662.

[352] *Ethica*, II, def. vi; IV, prop. lxiv et coroll.; ed. Van Vloten et Land, 1895, Vol. I, pp. 73, 225.

[353] *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*, 1785, *Werke*, ed. Berlin Academy, Vol. IV, 1903, p. 393. *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der reinen Vernunft*, 1793, *Werke*, ed. Hartenstein, Vol. VI, 1868, pp. 127, 128.

[354] *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*, 1902, p. 125.

[355] *Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion*, 1901, pp. 271, 272.

[356] Prof. Höffding, in his *Sören Kierkegaard*, pp. 130, 131.

[357] "Le Dogme du Pêché Originel dans S. Augustin," *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, 1901, 1902. See too F. R. Tennant, *The Sources of the Doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin*, 1903, which, however, descends only to St. Ambrose inclusively.

[358] So F. R. Tennant, *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*, 1902, pp. 131, 110.

[359] F. R. Tennant, *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*, 1902, pp. 82, 95; 107, 108; 115.

[360] *Ibid.* p. 83.

[361] *Ibid.* p. 153.

[362] *Summa Theol.*, II, ii, qu. 24, art. 7, in corp.

[363] *Psychology and Life*, 1899, pp. 267, 268. *Grundzüge der Psychologie*, Vol. I, 1900, pp. 170, 171.

[364] Mr. W. R. Inge, in his useful *Christian Mysticism*, 1899, has some sharp expressions of disgust against these long-lived survivals within the Catholic Church. And though his own tone towards Rome in general belongs also, surely, to a more or less barbaric past, he has done good service in drawing forcible attention to the matter.

[365] *Sixteen Revelations*, ed. 1902, pp. 23, 84, 101.

[366] *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, tr. Lewis, 1891, pp. 159; 26, 27; 195, 265.

[367] *Confessions*, Bk. XI, ch. xxiii, 1. Tract in Joann. Ev., VIII, 1; XXIV, 1: ed. Ben., Vol. III, 2, coll. 1770 *b*, 1958 *d*.

- [368] *Sixteen Revelations*, ed. cit. p. 210.
- [369] J. N. Grou, *Méditations sur l'Amour de Dieu*, Nouvelle ed. Perisse, pp. 268, 271.
- [370] L. Laberthonnière, *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 1905, 1906. G. Tyrrell, *Hard Sayings*, 1898; *External Religion*, 1902. A. Sandreau, *La Vie d'Union à Dieu*, 1900; *L'Etat Mystique*, 1903.
- [371] M. D. Petre, *The Soul's Orbit*, 1904, p. 113.
- [372] *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1901, p. 757.
- [373] Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, II, 2, ed. 1879, pp. 309, 312.
- [374] *Ibid.* p. 348.
- [375] Republic, VI, 508e; VII, 517b; and Zeller, *ibid.* II, 1, ed. 1889, pp. 707-710.
- [376] *Philebus*, 22c; *Timaeus*, 28a, c; 29e, 92c (with the reading ὁδε ὁ κόσμος ... εἰκὼν τοῦ ποιητοῦ).
- [377] *Timaeus*, 29e.
- [378] *Enneads*, I, vii, 1, 61d; I, viii, 2, 72e; VI, viii, 16, end. See, for all this, Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, III, ii, ed. 1881, pp. 476-480; 483; 510-414.
- [379] *Enneads*, VIII. ix, 350b; VI, 2317, 610d; III, ix, 3, 358a, b.
- [380] Zeller, *op. cit.* III, ii, pp. 787-789.
- [381] *Divine Names*, ch. v, sec. 1: tr. Parker, pp. 73-75.
- [382] *Mystical Theology*, ch. iii: Parker, pp. 135, 136.
- [383] *Mystical Theology*, ch. iv, sec. 2: Parker, pp. 136, 137.
- [384] *De Divisione Naturae*, III, 17; I, 78. Ueberweg-Heinze, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. II, ed. 1898, p. 159.
- [385] Secs. 2, 4, ed. Bardenhewer, 1882, pp. 163-166.
- [386] Commentarius, in *Aristotelis Metaphysica*, Tract. VIII, cap. 6, quoted by Denifle, *Archiv f. Litteratur-u-Kirchengeschichte*, 1886, p. 520.
- [387] Ibn Gebirol, *Fons Vitae*, ed. Bäumker, 1895: IV, 6, pp. 225, 224; V, 22, p. 298; II, 20, pp. 60-61; V, 24, p. 301.

[388] *De Ente et Essentia*, c. vi. *Summa Theol.*, I, qu. 3, art. 4 ad 1; and elsewhere.

[389] *De Ente et Essentia*, c. ii.

[390] See Ueberweg-Heinze, *op. cit.* pp. 280, 281.

[391] *De rerum Principio*, qu. viii. Ueberweg-Heinze, *op. cit.* pp. 295, 296.

[392] H. S. Denifle, *Meister Eckhart's Lateinische Schriften*, *loc. cit.* pp. 489, 490; 540, n. 6.

[393] *Ibid.* p. 519.

[394] *Meister Eckhart*, ed. Pfeiffer, 1857, pp. 158, 1; 99, 8; 180, 15; 532, 30; 320, 27; 288, 26; 207, 27.

[395] Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, ed. 1888, Nos. 437, 455.

[396] *Hegelianism and Personality*, ed. 1893, pp. 230, 231, and note.

[397] *Phaedrus*, 245 d; Zeller, *op. cit.* II, 1, ed. 1889, p. 830.

[398] *Ibid.* pp. 843, 844; 849, 850.

[399] Pre-existence of the Noûs: *Gen. Anim.*, II, 3, 736*b*; *de Anima*, III, 5, 430*a*; Zeller, *op. cit.* II, 2, ed. 1879, pp. 593, 595. The Supreme Noûs, purely transcendent: *Metaph.*, XII, 7-10. But see Dr. Edward Caird's admirable pp. 1-30, Vol. II, of his *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, 1904.

[400] Rom. viii, 11. See too Rom. viii, 9, 14; 1 Cor. iii, 16; vi, 11; vii, 40; xii, 3.

[401] H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der N. T. Theology*, 1897, Vol. II, pp. 9-12; 15-18.

[402] H. J. Holtzmann, *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 79, 80. Johannes Weiss, *Die Nachfolge Christi*, 1895, p. 95.

[403] Col. iii, 4; Phil. i, 21; Gal. ii, 20.

[404] *Enneads*, V, book 1, cc. 3 and 6.

[405] *Ibid.* VI, book 9, 9 and 11.

[406] *Eckhart*, ed. Pfeiffer, pp. 113, 33; 469, 40, 36.

[407] Denzinger, *op. cit.* No. 454.

[408] *Vier Schriften von Johannes Ruysbroek*, ed. Ullmann, 1848, pp. 106, 107.

[409] *Life, written by Herself*, tr. D. Lewis, ed. 1888, pp. 124, 421, 146.

[410] *Life, written by Herself*, tr. D. Lewis, ed. 1888, pp. 355, 130, 430; 174.

[411] J. B. Schwab, *Johannes Gerson*, 1858, pp. 361, 362.

[412] I can find but one, secondary Ecclesiastical Censure of the doctrine of God's substantial presence in the soul,—the censure passed by the Paris Sorbonne on Peter Lombard. The same Sorbonne repeatedly censured St. Thomas on other points.

[413] Vol. II, pp. 210, 211.

[414] *Ibid.* pp. 230, 231.

[415] *Ibid.* p. 231.

[416] *Ibid.* pp. 253-257. *Enneads*, V, book ii, i.

[417] Vol. II, pp. 232, 233.

[418] "Religions-philosophie," in *Die Philosophie im Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 115, 117.

[419] *Religions-philosophie*, Germ. tr., ed. 1894, p. 140.

[420] "Martineau's Philosophy," *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. I, 1902, pp. 458, 457.

[421] *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, ed. 1892, pp. 27, 15, 28, 231.

[422] *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, ed. 1892, pp. 20; 19-25.

[423] *Timaeus*, 29e, seq.

[424] *Metaph.*, VII, 1072b; IX, 1074b.

[425] See Caird, *op. cit.* II, p. 337.

[426] *Summa Theol.*, I, qu. 13, art. 5, concl. et in corp. (See the interesting note, "The Meaning of Analogy," in Fr. Tyrrell's *Lex Orandi*, 1903, pp. 80-83.) In *Librum Boetii de Trinitate*: D. Thomae Aquinatis *Opera*, ed. Veneta Altera, 1776, p. 341b, 342a.

[427] *Summa Theol.*, I, qu. 8, art. 2; qu. 12, art. 1, in corp.

[428] For Leibniz, see especially his *Nouveaux Essais*, written in 1701-1709, but not published till 1765: *Die Philosophischen Schriften van G. W. Leibniz*, ed. Gebhardt, Vol. V, 1882, especially pp. 45; 67; 69; 121, 122. For the date 1888, see W. James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, p. 233.

- [429] *Autobiography*, ed. 1875, pp. 133, 134.
- [430] "Die Selbständigkeit der Religion": *Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche*, 1895, pp. 404, 405.
- [431] *Elements of the Science of Religion*, 1897, Vol. II, pp. 227-231.
- [432] *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, ed. Griesbach, Vol. II, pp. 725, 734, 736.
- [433] *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, pp. 362, 364.
- [434] *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, tr. David Lewis, ed. 1889, pp. 94, 95, 97.
- [435] *Ascent*, pp. 94; 350.
- [436] *Ascent*, p. 353.
- [437] *Sören Kierkegaard*, von Harald Höffding, Germ. tr. 1896, pp. 116, 118, 120.
- [438] *Ibid.* pp. 122; 130, 131.
- [439] *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, ed. 1888, Vol. II, pp. 413, 414; 417.
- [440] *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, ed. 1902, pp. 180, 181.
- [441] Höffding's *Kierkegaard*, p. 119.
- [442] *The Faith of the Million*, 1901, Vol. II, pp. 49, 50; 52, 53.
- [443] *Works*, tr. David Lewis, ed. 1889, 1891, Vol. I, p. 308; Vol. II, p. 541.
- [444] *Op. cit.* p. 53.
- [445] *Ibid.* pp. 55, 56.
- [446] *Psyche*, ed. 1898, Vol. II, pp. 292, 293.
- [447] "Grundprobleme der Ethik": *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1902, pp. 164, 167.
- [448] "Was heisst Wesen des Christenthums?" *Christliche Welt*, 1903, I, coll. 583, 584. The Abbé Loisy has also dwelt, with rare impressiveness, upon the intensely Other-Worldly character of the first Christian teaching.
- [449] *Deutsche Mystiker des Mittelalters*, ed. Pfeiffer, Vol. I, 1845, pp. xli, xlii. Any Life of St. Jane F. de Chantal. A. Cadrès, *Le P. Jean N. Grou*, 1866, pp. 13, 14. *St. Teresa's Life, written by*

Herself, tr. David Lewis, ed. 1888, pp. 176, 177; 186. *Revelations of Divine Love, showed to Mother Juliana of Norwich*, ed. 1902, p. 4.

[450] A. Gardner, "Confession and Direction," in *The Conflict of Duties*, 1903, pp. 223-229. P. Gardner, in *The Liberal Churchman*, 1905, p. 266.

[451] *Psyche*, ed. 1898, Vol. II, p. 289.

[452] "Christianity and Physical Science" (1855), in *Idea of a University*, ed. 1873, pp. 432, 433. "University Teaching" (1852), *ibid.* p. 222. See Mr. R. E. Froude's interesting paper, "Scientific Speculation and the Unity of Truth," *Dublin Review*, Oct. 1900, pp. 353-368.

[453] W. Windelband, *Geschichte und Naturwissenschaft*, 1894. H. Rickert, *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft*, 1899. And, above all, H. Rickert, *Die Grenzen der Naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung*, 1902.

[454] *Schopenhauer*, 1900, pp. 344, 345.

[455] *Wie ist der Kampf um die Bedeutung ... Jesu zu beenden?* 1901, p. 9.

[456] *Wie ist der Kampf um die Bedeutung ... Jesu zu beenden?* 1901, p. 10.

[457] *Ibid.* pp. 10, 11.

[458] *Ibid.* pp. 26, 27.

[459] "Ueber den letzten Unterschied der philosophischen Systeme," 1847, in *Beiträge zur Philosophie*, 1855, Vol. II, p. 10.

[460] See the admirably lucid analysis in Prof. Troeltsch's "Religions-philosophie," in *Die Philosophie im Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, 1904, Vol. I, p. 116, already referred to further back.

[461] *Richard Rothe's Spekulative System*, 1899, pp. 205, 206.

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